provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories. In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (iyedaga) should be discussed.

6. Naming Rule. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

*601 in the iyegedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S♂H)

in the irego ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for such a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
606 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |\sigma Sc \rightarrow |\sigma MBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|\varphi cSp \rightarrow |\varphi Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 3: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this classification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overset{\frown}{\varphi S} \rightarrow \overset{\frown}{\varphi M}) = (\overset{\frown}{\varphi S} \rightarrow \overset{\frown}{\varphi d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's mother's father. [603] However, women may address their mother's father, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. [605] The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo pega-rogu if she is still a child. *601 A man will always address his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters 606

*601 The rules mentioned above are not valid if the choice
602 is between a close and a more distant genealogical relation, or between a genealogically extended and a categorically extended kinship term. In this case precedence is given to the term traced through the closest genealogical link. Thus, for example, if Ego's true father's sister's daughter is married to his clan "brother" or moiety "brother," Ego will continue to call her imarugo. If the link in both positions are Ego's kinsmen only by social extensions, the choice of the term is arbitrary and left to the will of the parties involved.

*601 Another conflict may arise between a kin term and the
• 603 actual role that somebody plays towards a kinsman. The most frequent case is that of the father's mother or father's sister who is called imuga, "mother," instead of imarugo, "grandmother," by a child. This usually happens when the child's true mother dies and there is no other woman of her lineage who can take care of the child, or when the mother is living but the child feels more at home with his paternal relatives. In both cases the child is raised by his father's mother or by his father's sister, and he addresses them and refers to them and their husbands in accordance with the actual role they sustained with him. However, the use of the terms is regarded as a nice fiction. The child never becomes a clan or moiety member of his acquired mother and his actual genealogical connections are never obscured.

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreating her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.
868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[149] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied